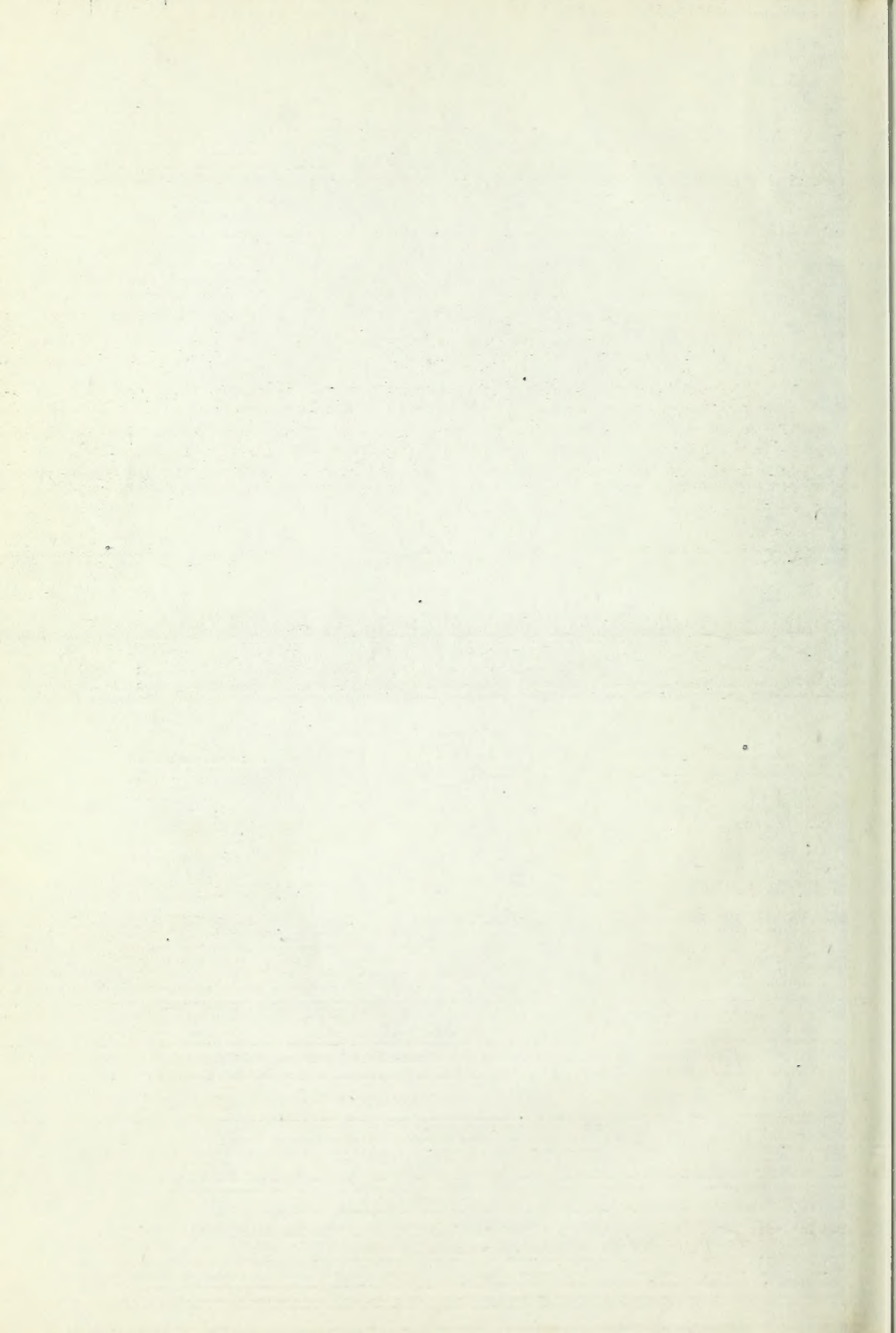


A declaration of
interdependence

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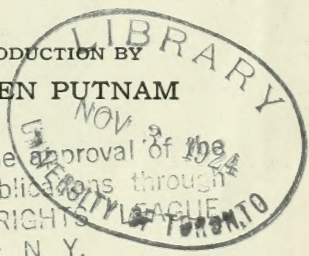
A Declaration of Interdependence:

Commemoration in
London in 1918 of
the 4th of July, 1776

*Resolutions and Addresses at the
Central Hall, Westminster*

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

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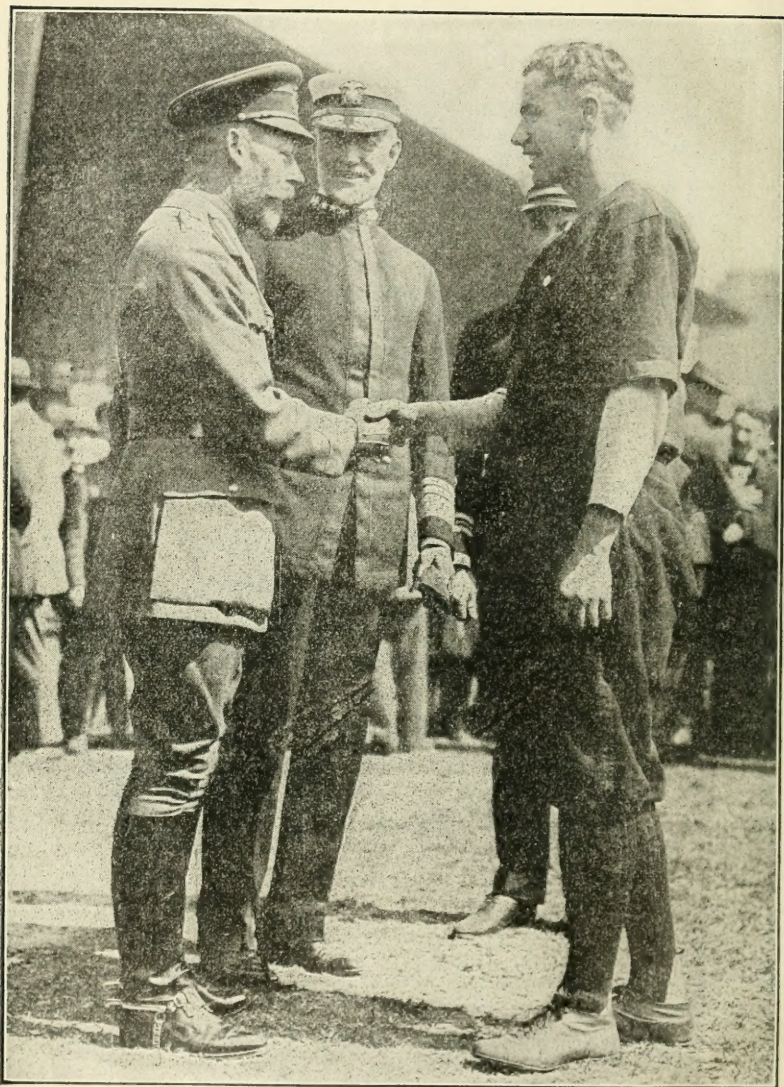


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THE ROYAL BASEBALL MATCH AT CHELSEA

His Majesty King George V. chatting with the Cap
Captain of the American Navy Baseball Team

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 1918



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4th, 1776,

THE DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE, JULY 4th, 1918

ON the 4th of July, 1918, for the first time in history, America's Independence Day was officially celebrated in London and throughout England by the English people. This commemoration of the national holiday of the United States was, in more ways than one, noteworthy and could but stir the blood of every loyal American who realized the meaning of the kinship between the two countries.

London was ablaze with flags, the Stars and Stripes intertwined with the Union Jack, and in many places with the tri-colour. Meetings were held in a number of the clubs and other centres throughout the town, the most important for the general public being that in the great Central Hall at Westminster. Thousands of American soldiers were in England, most of whom were spending their first Independence Day away from their native soil. The vessels of the American Navy were operating along the British coast in close companionship with the ships of their British Allies. American troops were fighting in France, brigaded with the veterans of Great Britain. In London, and throughout England, clubs, rest-houses, and canteens had been organized for the benefit of the guests from overseas. A spirit of brotherhood was in the air. In London there was a series of luncheons and dinners, and the Londoner who could not secure one or more Yankees on whom to bestow his hospitality felt defrauded. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the commemoration was the game of baseball fought out, and very well fought out, between men selected from the divisions of the American Army and from the sailors of the American Navy who were

at the time within reach of London. King George honoured the boys with his presence, and the King's example was, naturally, followed by hundreds of representatives of the "best society" and by forty thousand other good Englishmen who were ready to admire, and who did their best to understand, the fine points in the excellent playing of the Yankee experts. I was told that the Red Cross treasury, to which were turned over the field receipts, realized from this game a larger amount than from any previous function given for its benefit. In the evening the London theaters were thrown open to all American soldiers and sailors who might be free to attend, and nearly two thousand availed themselves of the invitation.

The most impressive function of the day was the great noon-day Meeting of Fellowship, organized by the Ministry of Information, which was held at the Central Hall, Westminster, under the shadow, so to speak, of the Houses of Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George and the members of the Imperial War Cabinet, together with the Dominion Premiers, were at the time absent in France, engaged, properly enough, in attending a meeting of the Supreme War Council, but the managers had secured a group of representative speakers. The meeting was presided over by Viscount Bryce, formerly Ambassador to the United States, whose name is held in equal honor and reverence on each side of the Atlantic. The British Government was represented by Mr. Winston Churchill, Minister of Munitions, and the Dominion of Canada by the Hon. A. Meighen, who had, under the instructions of Sir Robert Borden, been hurried over on an all-night journey from Paris, in order that Canada might be represented at the meeting. In the much-regretted absence, as an invalid, of the American Ambassador, I had the honor to be selected as the representative of America; Professor Canby, of Yale, was spokesman for the American Universities, and Admiral Sims and General Biddle, already well known to English audiences, spoke, respectively, for the American Navy and Army.

It was a memorable scene. The great hall, which holds more than thirty-five hundred people, was packed with a representative gathering of English men and women of all classes and of all

politics. The American residents in London were out in force, and space had been reserved on the platform for a block of United States soldiers and for a detachment of convalescents from the hospitals, chiefly Canadians and Anzacs, who, in their picturesque uniforms of butcher blue, with white facings and red ties, gave to the scene the necessary touch of colour. The ushers were all old soldiers, veterans of British wars during forty years. The galleries were filled with the general public, and the platform with the British Houses of Lords and Commons, and the City Corporations, and with representatives of what is called the "best society." In looking at the titled people and the leaders of opinion on the platform, I could not but recall the different attitude on American matters taken, in 1861-'65, by the fathers and grandfathers of the group. The music was provided by the band of the Coldstream Guards. The introductory address of Lord Bryce was most impressive. Bryce stands more directly than any other Briton as the great connecting link between England and America.

Mr. Churchill, who took as his text the original Declaration of Independence, delivered an address which may fairly be described as historic. By an odd coincidence, the closing words of his speech, condemning all possible suggestion of compromise with Germany, were almost identical with those which were being delivered, practically simultaneously, by President Wilson in his Fourth of July address at Mount Vernon.

The resolution, which constituted a message of greeting to the President and the people of the United States, after being seconded in a brief but most impressive address by Mr. Meighen, was carried by acclamation and was promptly cabled to Washington. As an American long familiar with England—I had been coming from year to year ever since the Civil War—I paid my tribute to the sacrifices and devotion of the British people during the long burdensome years of the war. I summed up the Anglo-American relations in the phrase: "We commemorate to-day the Declaration of Independence, of separation, which was made one hundred and forty-two years ago by the English Colonies in America. The two nations are making to-day a new declaration, a Declaration of Interdependence, of acknowledgment that they have

need of each other and belong together for the work of the world." Professor Canby secured the cordial appreciation of his hearers when he suggested that the term "alliance" in the old selfish entangling sense was a misnomer. He took the ground that Britain and America ought now to act together and themselves to take the first step toward the scheme of World Federation. The speaking was closed with brief addresses from General Biddle and Admiral Sims, each of whom received from the audience, for himself and for the Army and the Navy that he represented, a tremendous welcome. Each spoke of what he had seen on the English side of the water, and each rendered cordial appreciation of the close cooperation and the cordial companionship existing to-day between the armies and the navies of the two people. The speech of Admiral Sims was noteworthy in revealing the status of union and the thoroughness of cooperation between the two fleets.

The words of the speakers and the enthusiastic reception given to these words by the audience made clear the importance of the meeting as marking the beginning of a new epoch in the relations of America and of England. This new epoch begins in the midst of a great struggle, but it is not to be terminated with the fighting through of the war. It marks, as said, a recognition on the part of the English-speaking peoples of their joint responsibilities to each other and to the family of nations. It is an event that must, therefore, have large results in the history not only of these English-speaking peoples, but of the whole world.

GEO. HAVEN PUTNAM.

New York, October, 1918.

PROGRAMME

10.45—11.30. Musical Selection.

BAND OF H.M. COLDSTREAM GUARDS

(Major Mackenzie Rogan, M.V.O.)

The GRAND ORGAN (Mr. J. A. Meale, F.R.C.O.)

- (1) “The Star-Spangled Banner”
Solo: Madame Hortense Paulsen.

- (2) OPENING ADDRESS,

By THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M.
(late British Ambassador to the United States),
Chairman.

- (3) FIRST RESOLUTION.

(For full text see page 8.)

“A Greeting to the President and People of
the United States of America.”

(To be cabled from the Meeting.)

Proposed by THE RIGHT HON. WINSTON S.
CHURCHILL, Minister of Munitions.

Seconded by THE HON. A. MEIGHEN (Canada).

- (4) SECOND RESOLUTION

“That this Meeting views with profound
satisfaction the fact that to-day the two
great English-speaking peoples should find
themselves for the first time fighting side by
side, in the cause of Justice and Liberty.”

Proposed by MAJOR GEO. HAVEN PUTNAM.

Supported by PROFESSOR H. S. CANBY, Yale
University.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN BIDDLE,
commanding U.S. Forces in England.

ADMIRAL W. S. SIMS, commanding
U. S. Naval Forces operating in
European waters.

- (5) { “God Save the King” (one verse).
| “America” (one verse).

THE FIRST RESOLUTION

CABLED FROM THE MEETING

*TO PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON,
WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.*

At this representative meeting of Anglo-Saxon fellowship, assembled at the Central Hall, Westminster, London, and presided over by the Right Honourable Viscount Bryce, O.M., the following resolution proposed by the Right Honourable Winston S. Churchill, and seconded by the Honourable A. Meighen, was carried with acclamation:—

This meeting of Anglo-Saxon Fellowship, assembled in London on July 4th, 1918, send to the President and people of the United States their heartfelt greetings on the 142nd anniversary of the declaration of American Independence.

They rejoice that the love of liberty and justice on which the American Nation was founded should in the present time of trial have united the whole English-speaking family in a brotherhood of arms. They congratulate the United States and Navy on the marvellous achievement involved in the safe transportation to the battlefields of Europe of the first million soldiers of the American Army. They affirm their devotion to the noble and righteous cause in which we are fighting and their faith that by the help of God a complete and lasting victory will be won for freedom and humanity.

BRYCE.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY

TO THE

RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, LONDON.

The generous resolution of the great meeting held on July 4 by the Citizens of London in celebration of the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States has been received with the deepest appreciation. The people of the United States have entered this war not only with the feeling that its issues are the issues of their own national life and action, but also with a profound sense of their comradeship with the other free peoples of the world, and it is with keen satisfaction that they find themselves associated in close fraternal purpose and understanding with the people of the British Empire.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE SPEECHES

THE CHAIRMAN (The Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M.): Ladies and Gentlemen—I will ask the Bishop of London to open our proceedings with prayer. Kindly stand up.

(Prayer offered.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I say a few opening words to you, I ought to tell you that I have just received a telegram from His Excellency the American Ambassador, whom we all regard with respect and affection, expressing his deep regret that he is unavoidably prevented from being with us here to-day. Now, ladies and gentlemen, this is Independence Day. This is the National Birthday of the American people. It is the day when the tree of their separate national existence was planted, but that tree was planted in war. For many a year the day was celebrated in the United States with hostility and defiance. By us in Britain it was remembered with sorrow as marking the severance of precious ties. And now, after a hundred and forty-two years, it is being celebrated by both peoples with like enthusiasm—by the children of those who revolted against the British Crown as by the children of those who sadly admitted the loss of one of that Crown's choicest jewels. This fact, this joint celebration, is more eloquent than any words. What had been a day of anger on one side and of grief on the other has become for both a day of affection and rejoicing. I need not ask what history might show to have been gained or lost by each country. It may be thought that if some political connection had been preserved, two things at least would have been gained. The war of 1812—an unmix'd evil for both nations—would have been avoided, and though the North American Colonies would soon have become practically self-governing, as is Canada to-day, the mediation of the Mother-country would probably have averted the War of Secession, and secured the peaceable extinction of negro slavery. On the other hand, it may have been well for us, and for the world, that no one State so powerful as Britain and America united in one would have been, should have grown up. A State so immensely strong might have been led into aggression and injustice by the thirst for World Dominion—a passion whose

fatal consequences we see in the moral degradation of Prussianised Germany. What forces have brought Britain and America again together, and how comes it that in the fourth generation another King George is joining, on behalf of his people, in a celebration of to-day, which now records the extinction of all the bitterness that arose in the days of George III.—a bitterness that could never have arisen had the will of the British people ruled in 1775 as it rules to-day? For the severance came because we had then a perverse Court, and a non-representative Parliament. It is not merely blood relationship that has brought this happy consummation. Quarrels between relatives are often the most bitter. It is a sense of other and stronger ties that binds us together. You will remember the lines in "Lycidas":

For we were nursed upon the self-same hill,
Fed the same flock by fountain, shade, and rill.

Our greatest poets—Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton—are the common glory of our race. Common to both people is the love of freedom and the faith in freedom which, sown long ago in English hearts, came to full flower in the days of Milton and Hampden, and established civil and religious liberty, both here and in America, on foundations never thereafter to be shaken. With the love of freedom, and as its proper accompaniment, Britain and America have both revered the moral law, have held to good faith between nations, have recognized their duties to the world. Their thoughts, their beliefs, their ideals sometimes differ in expression, but are substantially the same. The national heroes of both have been men who were great by their courage, and by their sense of right and duty, from King Alfred down to Washington and Lincoln, whom Britain as well as America counts among the heroes of the race. It is these things that have made each nation respect the other even at moments of tension. Deep down in the heart of each, almost too deep for expression, there has been the sense that the other possessed those essential virtues by which nations live; and each had a secret pride in seeing that the other retained what both felt to be the finest characteristics of the ancient stock. We saw another quality of that stock shine forth in the energy with which the people of the United States have overspread a vast continent, have planted everywhere self-governing institutions, are assimilating and turning into useful citizens the immigrants who came in a huge and turbid flood, and have built up a fabric of industrial prosperity such as has never been seen elsewhere.

For half a century, the sense of unity had been growing closer, when an event happened which revealed both nations to them-

selves and to one another. The German Government suddenly invaded neutral and peaceful Belgium. Britain sprang into the breach, and within three years raised an Army of more than five millions, ten times as large as that she had when the war began. Germany followed up her first crime by perpetrating upon non-combatants and neutrals a succession of outrages unheard of before. It was then the turn of America. We in England have scarcely yet realized the magnitude of the new departure which America took when she entered the war. The oldest and best established of her traditions, dating from the days of Washington, had been to stand aloof, secure in her splendid isolation, from all European entanglements. The Germans from the height of their intellectual arrogance had despised Americans as given up to the gross materialism of money-making, just as they despised the English as a decadent people, sunk in luxury and sloth. But when America saw every principle of right overridden, every sentiment of humanity cast to the winds, America strode forth in her strength. Duty called on her to help to save the world, and she blazed forth in the sky like that star which startled astronomers three weeks ago.

But this is a star whose light will know no fading. First came her Navy, helping the ships of Britain to hunt down those wild beasts of the sea, who rise from their green lairs beneath the waves to murder the innocent. Then, while in the American cities the elder men have been watching with breathless anxiety for every report brought hour by hour along the cables from the imperilled front in France, we see the young soldiers of America come swarming over the ocean in an ever-growing host which begins to be counted by millions. They come with the passion of crusaders, eager to bear the shock of battle in a sacred cause. The New World—to use the famous phrase which Canning pronounced nearly a century ago—“has come to redress the balance of the Old.” Its fresh and fiery spirit has the promise of victory. This spirit, this zeal to serve the cause of right, this sense of a common duty and a common purpose, these perils which American and British soldiers (citizen armies drawn from the people) are facing side by side upon the plains of France, all this has brought Britain and America closer than ever—closer even than they were under one Government before that far-off day of Independence, which we are celebrating now and here. These things will be the surest pledge of affection and co-operation in a future stretching before us as far as human thought can reach. I have quoted a famous phrase of Canning's. Let me quote, and adapt to the present, the no less famous words of Pitt: “Britain and America have together led the world of Freedom by their

example. Together they will save it—will save it for freedom by their exertions.”

THE CHAIRMAN: I have now to call upon the Right Hon. Winston Churchill to move the first resolution, a greeting from this meeting to the President and the people of the United States.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL: I am instructed by the Chairman to propose to you the following resolution (*for text, see p. 8*).

We are, as the Chairman has stated, met here to-day in the City of Westminster to celebrate the hundred and forty-second anniversary of American Independence. We are met also, as he has reminded you, as brothers in arms, facing together grave injuries and perils, and passing through a period of exceptional anxiety and suffering. Therefore we seek to draw from the past history of our race inspiration and encouragement which will cheer our hearts and fortify and purify our resolution and our comradeship. A great harmony exists between the Declaration of Independence and all we are fighting for now. A similar harmony exists between the principles of that Declaration and what the British Empire has wished to stand for and has at last achieved, not only here at home, but in the great self-governing Dominions through the world. The Declaration of Independence is not only an American document; it follows on Magna Charta and the Petition of Right as the third of the great title deeds on which the liberties of the English-speaking race are founded. By it we lost an Empire, but by it we also preserved an Empire. By applying these principles and learning this lesson we have maintained unbroken communion with those powerful Commonwealths which our children have founded and have developed beyond the seas, and which, in this time of stress, have rallied spontaneously to our aid. The political conceptions embodied in the Declaration of Independence are the same as those which were consistently expressed at the time by Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke and by many others who had in turn received them from John Hampden and Algernon Sidney. They spring from the same source; they come from the same well of practical truth, and that well, ladies and gentlemen, is here, by the banks of the Thames in this famous Island, which we have guarded all these years, and which is the birthplace and the cradle of the British and the American race. It is English wisdom, it is that peculiar political sagacity and sense of practical truth, which animates the great document in the minds of all Americans to-day. Wherever men seek to frame politics or constitutions which are intended to safeguard the citizen, be he rich or be he poor, on the one hand from the shame

of despotism, on the other from the misery of anarchy, which are devised to combine personal liberty with respect for law and love of country—wherever these desires are sincerely before the makers of constitutions or laws, it is to this original inspiration, this inspiration which was the product of English soil, which was the outcome of the Anglo-Saxon mind, that they will inevitably be drawn.

We therefore feel no sense of division in celebrating this anniversary. We join in perfect sincerity and in perfect simplicity with our American kith and kin in commemorating the auspicious and glorious establishment of their nationhood. We also, we British who have been so long in the struggle, also express our joy and gratitude for the mighty and timely aid which America has brought and is bringing to the Allied Cause. When I have seen during the last few weeks the splendour of American manhood striding forward on all the roads of France and Flanders, I have experienced emotions which words cannot describe. We have suffered so much in this country—and in gallant France they have suffered still more—that we can feel for others. There are few homes in Britain where you will not find an empty chair and aching hearts, and we feel in our own sorrow a profound sympathy with those across the Atlantic whose dear ones have travelled so far to face dangers we know only too well. Not British hearts only, but Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and South African hearts [A voice: "And Indian too"], beat in keen common sympathy with them. And Indian hearts as well. All who have come across the great expanses of the ocean to take part in this conflict feel in an especial degree a sympathy, an intense and comprehending sympathy, with the people of the United States, who have to wait through these months of anxiety for the news of battle.

The greatest actions of men or of nations are spontaneous and instinctive. They do not result from nice calculations of profit and loss, or long balancing of doubtful opinions. They happen as if they could not help happening. The heart, as the French say, has reasons which the reason does not know. I am persuaded that the finest and worthiest moment in the history of Britain was reached on that August night, now nearly four years ago, when we declared war on Germany. Little could we know where it would carry us, or what it would bring to us. Like the United States, we entered the war a peaceful nation, utterly unprepared for aggression in any form; like the United States, we entered the war without counting the cost, and without seeking any reward of any kind. The cost has been more terrible than our most sombre expectations would have led us to imagine, but the reward which is coming is beyond the fondest dreams and hopes we could have cherished.

What is the reward of Britain? What is the priceless, utterly unexpected reward that is coming to us surely and irresistibly in consequence of our unstudied and unhesitating response to the appeals of Belgium and of France? Territory, indemnities, commercial advantages—what are they? They are matters utterly subordinate to the moral issues and moral consequences of this war. Deep in the hearts of the people of this Island, deep in the hearts of those whom the Declaration of Independence styles “our British brethren,” lay the desire to be truly reconciled before all men and before all history with their kindred across the Atlantic Ocean; to blot out the reproaches and redeem the blunders of a bygone age, to dwell once more in spirit with our kith and kin, to stand once more in battle at their side, to create once more a true union of hearts, to begin once more to write a history in common. That was our heartfelt desire, but it seemed utterly unattainable—utterly unattainable, at any rate, in periods which the compass of our short lives enabled us to consider. One prophetic voice* predicted with accents of certitude the arrival of a day of struggle which would find England and the United States in battle side by side; but for most of us it seemed that this desire of union and of reconciliation in sentiment and in heart would not be achieved within our lifetime. But it has come to pass. It has come to pass already, and every day it is being emphasised and made more real and more lasting! However long the struggle may be, however cruel may be the sufferings we have to undergo, however complete may be the victory we shall win, however great may be our share in it, we seek no nobler reward than that. We seek no higher reward than this supreme reconciliation. That is the reward of Britain. That is the lion’s share.

A million American soldiers are in Europe. They have arrived safely and in the nick of time. Side by side with their French and British comrades, they await at this moment the furious onslaught of the common foe, and that is an event which in the light of all that has led up to it, and in the light of all that must follow from it, seems—I say it frankly—to transcend the limits of purely mundane things. It is a wonderful event; it is a prodigious event; it is almost a miraculous event. It fills us, it fills me, with a sense of the deepest awe. Amid the carnage and confusion of the immense battlefield, amid all the grief and destruction which this war is causing and has still to cause, there comes over even the most secularly-minded of us a feeling that the world is being guided through all this chaos to something far better than we have ever yet enjoyed. We feel in the presence of a great design of which we only see a small portion, but which is developing and

* Admiral Sims.

unfolding swiftly at this moment, and of which we are the honoured servants and the necessary instruments in our own generation. No event, I say, since the beginning of the Christian era has been more likely to strengthen and restore faith in the moral governance of the Universe than the arrival from the other end of the world of these mighty armies of deliverance. One has a feeling that it is not all a blind struggle; it is not all for nothing. Not too late is the effort; not in vain do heroes die.

There is one more thing I ought to say, and it is a grave thing to say. The essential purposes of this war do not admit of compromise. If we were fighting merely for territorial gains, or were engaged in a domestic, dynastic, or commercial quarrel, no doubt these would be matters to be adjusted by bargaining. But this war has become an open conflict between Christian civilization and scientific barbarism. The line is clearly drawn between the nations where the peoples own the governments and the nations where the governments own the peoples. Our struggle is between systems which faithfully endeavor to quell and quench the brutish, treacherous, predatory promptings of human nature, and a system which has deliberately fostered, organized, armed, and exploited these promptings to its own base aggrandizement. We are all erring mortals. No race, no country, no individual, has a monopoly of good or of evil, but face to face with the facts of this war, who can doubt that the struggle in which we are engaged is in reality a struggle between the forces of good and the forces of evil? It is a struggle between right and wrong, and as such it is not capable of any solution which is not absolute. Germany must be beaten; Germany must know that she is beaten; Germany must feel that she is beaten. Her defeat must be expressed in terms and facts which will, for all time, deter others from emulating her crime, and will safeguard us against their repetition.

But, Ladies and Gentlemen, the German people have at any rate this assurance: that we claim for ourselves no natural or fundamental right that we shall not be obliged and even willing in all circumstances to secure for them. We cannot treat them as they have treated Alsace-Lorraine or Belgium or Russia, or as they would treat us all if they had the power. We can not do it. for we are bound by the principles for which we are fighting. We must adhere to those principles. They will arm our fighting strength, and they alone will enable us to use with wisdom and with justice the victory which we shall gain. Whatever the extent of our victory, these principles will protect the German people. The Declaration of Independence and all that it implies must cover them. When all those weapons in which German militarists have put their trust have broken in their hands, when

all the preparations on which they have lavished the energies and the schemes of fifty years have failed them, the German people will find themselves protected by those simple elemental principles of right and freedom against which they will have warred so long in vain. So let us celebrate to-day not only the Declaration of Independence, but let us proclaim the true comradeship of Britain and America and their determination to stand together until the work is done, in all perils, in all difficulties, at all costs, wherever the war may lead us, right to the very end. No compromise on the main purpose: no peace till victory; no pact with unrepentant wrong—that is the Declaration of July 4th, 1918; that is the Declaration which I invite you to make in common with me, and, to quote the words which are on every American's lips to-day, "for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

THE CHAIRMAN: I am told, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it is desired for reasons you can conjecture to take a flashlight photograph at this moment of this meeting, to convey some impression in other places of its fervour, and I am therefore desired to ask those who are going to speak to-day to stand up in order that their photographs may be taken.

(Photograph taken.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The British Dominions beyond the seas are partners—willing, earnest, valiant, glorious partners—with us in this struggle, and it is right and fitting that this resolution should be seconded by one who represents one of the great Dominions. I have pleasure in calling on the Hon. A. Meighen, of the Canadian Government, to second this resolution.

THE HON. A. MEIGHEN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have been introduced to this audience as a member of the Government of Canada, and to that circumstance is due the very great distinction of my being permitted to second this resolution.

The past few days I have spent visiting our lines in France, and just now I am very emphatically a Canadian. At the sound of every word that suggests to me the Dominion's organisation over there and the spirit of her sons at war—well, it starts me thinking, and it is hard to conceal one's pride of birth. But I speak to-night in support of this motion, not in the character of a

Dominion Minister, but in the larger, wider rank as a citizen of the Empire of Britain.

One hundred and forty-two years ago, for causes that history has from both standpoints long and thoroughly reviewed and that we need not now even call to memory, the Anglo-Saxon race suffered a political severance and the United States became a nation. Whether that severance was for the world's good or the world's ill the finite mind cannot determine, though many very confident judgments have been passed. England lost an empire but gained a release from responsibilities that might have involved her in perilous or impossible complexities. The United States achieved an early self-government and the independence that we celebrate to-day, but the world lost the immeasurable advantage of a union of peace-loving peoples—a union that perchance might have averted the catastrophe of this war. We are here, though, to exchange greetings and not regrets. We are here to express good cheer and high resolve. Those of us who regard this Motherland as the parent of free peoples do not believe that a nation can be wholly lost to Britain that is not lost to liberty. There is nothing worth while left in life for the free citizens in America, just as there is nothing left in life for the free citizen of this Empire, if the Prussian spirit is to rule the world. Whatsoever thing is overbearing and despotic, whatsoever thing is dastardly and deceitful, whatsoever thing is callous and brutal and of evil report, whatsoever thing is distinctively German, that thing is as abominable to the justice-loving American as to the justice-loving and the freedom-granting Briton. After all, the two nations are alike in fundamentals. Over all the journey of these years the same compass has guided them through wind and tides, and though they have sailed independent crafts they have not drifted very far apart.

They are together now; that is the mightiest fact born of this awful war—a fact, a truth wherein lies hope and potency for the world's rehabilitation. They are joined now with hands clasped in the most stupendous task that ever challenged human capacity—and they shall not fail! Efficiency and co-operation must be the watchwords of these countries. Dauntlessness is the heritage of both. We must make united relentless war.

I wish I could interpret to this audience the spirit of Canada. It is one week to-day since a German submarine commander met on the wide sea a hospital ship chartered by our Dominion and carrying only the messengers of mercy. There were there nursing sisters from Canadian homes—faithful, devoted women bound on a mission of love. There were there women who through these years have ministered to the wounded fellow-

countrymen of that submarine commander, nursing them out of agony to health, living only to serve and to shed sympathy for suffering men. He ran down those women in the dark and smote them to their death. Better the world should perish than be ruled by murderers like that. Such is the spirit of Canada and of Britain. It is the spirit of America too, and already one million men have left the United States sworn to translate that spirit into deeds.

The Anglo-Saxon race is together again—not politically, that can never be. They are together for a greater purpose than the building of a nation: they are together to rescue a world. What the long result shall be we cannot tell: our task is to get the immediate result—the triumph of our cause in this war. That done, generations unborn will bless this event and give praises through all time to the people of to-day who brought it forth. Looking back now across the last century to the crisis that parted our race, and forward to the mission on which we are bent together, we say in a grander application than ever before:

Those opposed eyes
Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven
All of one nature, of one substance bred,
Did lately meet in the intestine shock,
Shall now in mutual well-beseeming ranks
March all one way.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the resolution which Mr. Churchill has moved and Mr. Meighen has seconded. Those who are in favour of the resolution please to hold up their hands. Against? The resolution is carried unanimously, and will be cabled at once to Washington. I have now, Ladies and Gentlemen, to bring you to the second resolution, which will be moved and seconded by some of our friends from America. I will call upon the proposer, Major Putnam, one of the veterans of the American Civil War.

MAJOR GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM: Ladies and Gentlemen,—A hundred and forty-two years ago, my forefathers, under the leadership of Massachusetts and Virginia, declared their independence from the political control of their mother country, and this independence, after seven years of strife, they succeeded in securing.

This day on which we commemorate the act of the men who, in Independence Hall in Philadelphia, placed their signatures on the famous Declaration, an act that brought about the political

separation of the Colonies from Great Britain, constitutes, it seems to me, a suitable occasion on which to place on record a new declaration.

In this year, in which America and Great Britain are fighting shoulder to shoulder in a righteous cause, I want to see a Declaration made not of Independence, but of Interdependence—a Declaration that shall constitute an acknowledgment that the two countries have need of each other, and that the two peoples belong together.

I have referred to the events of 1776–1783 as bringing about a *political* separation. We are glad to recall that there has never been any separation or cleavage other than political. The Americans were revolting not against England, but against George III., a monarch who was attempting to rule England no less than America with Prussian methods, and who, at least in America, was using for the purpose German troops.

We Americans gave up no part, and we were willing to give up no part, of our English heritage. We retained, with the English language, the law and the customs of England. We continued through all the years not only of the youth but of the maturity of our Republic, to absorb the literature produced by English writers, and through this literature our people grew up with English methods of thought and English principles of action.

It is because of our acceptance of English common law and of the precedents of English statute law, because of the retention of the language, and the influence of the literature, of England, and on the ground, also, I judge, of the sturdiness and will-power of the English stock, that we Americans are to-day an English folk. With nearly two-thirds of our population representing heritage other than that of these British Islands, it is the British races or groups, English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh, that to-day dominate the Continent and control the policy of the Republic.

The two countries have now come into a sympathetic association with each other such as has not existed at any period since the beginning of America. England's relation to its big offspring might be expressed in the line of Pope:

“We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

The opinions, it would perhaps be more precise to say the feelings and prejudices, of Americans concerning their transatlantic kinsfolk, were shaped for my generation, as for the boys of every generation that had grown up since 1775, on text-books and histories that presented unhistorical, partisan, and often distorted, views of the histories of the first English colonies, of the events

of the Revolution, of the issues that brought about the war of 1812-1815, and the grievances of 1861-1865. These events and grievances, while but inconsiderable episodes in the history of Britain, have bulked large in the life of the Republic.

The original antagonism to England on the part of New England, New York, and Virginia, initiated and fed by these over-patriotic histories, has, through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, been fed and developed for the country as a whole under the influence of great streams of immigrants from all parts of the world. Some of these immigrants have brought with them to America strong anti-English prejudices, and the greater portion of the rest have had an ignorance of, or an indifference to, English traditions and institutions. But the influence of the British elements in our population, represented more particularly by New England and Virginia, have proved sufficiently strong to enable the English-Americans to bring under control and to weld into a nation that in its common character and purposes is English, the great medley of racial factors that make up the population of the continent. These English institutions and ideals have shown themselves strong enough to maintain the mastery of the government and to direct the policy of the Republic. Text-books are now being prepared which will present a juster historical account of the events of 1775-1783, 1812-1815, and 1861-1865.

The writers of these revised (one might say reformed) text-books will present conclusions in line with those to be found in the *History of the American Revolution*, by Sir George Otto Trevelyan. Trevelyan was, if not the first, at least the most authoritative among English historians, to emphasize the view that the Revolution of the Colonists was part of the fight for liberal institutions in England, a fight that continued for nearly a century. Trevelyan makes clear that if the American Colonists had not won out, the development of liberal government in England would have been delayed at least for another generation.

The writers of these corrected histories will make clear to the schoolboys of the coming generation that the American colonists were not fighting against England, but were simply maintaining what they believed to be their rights against the attempts of a King who, while English by birth, was working with Prussian methods and theories to establish autocratic government in America as he had succeeded in imposing autocratic rule upon England. The American boys and girls will come to understand that during the revolutionary period there were in England statesmen and leaders of public opinion like Chatham, Burke, Colonel Barré, Horne Tooke, and not a few others, who,

at no little disadvantage and some risk to themselves, were supporting the contentions of the colonists.

This was also true of a great proportion of the people of the British Isles who, as was the case, of course, with leaders like those specified, were looking forward to securing liberal institutions for English-speaking peoples. The government in England in those years was not representative and the mass of the people had no voice in Parliament; but sufficient record has, however, remained of their opinions for us to understand to-day that a large number, and possibly the greater number, of the citizens of Britain were in full sympathy with the cause that was being fought for by Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia.

Trevelyan shows that the recognition of the independence of America made impossible for later reigns any such autocratic rule as that which had been imposed upon Great Britain by George III., with Lord North and his other Prussianised advisers.

Americans of to-day, looking back at the history with a better sense of justice and a better knowledge of the facts than was possible for their ancestors, are prepared to recognize also that their great grandfathers had treated with serious injustice and with great unwisdom the Loyalists of New York and of New England who had held to the cause of the Crown. We do not need to lessen in any way our admiration for the clear-sightedness of the founders of the Republic and for the patriotic persistence with which they maintained their own contentions; but it is in order now to admit that the Loyalists had a fair cause to defend and it was not to be wondered at that many men of the more conservative way of thinking should have convinced themselves that the cause of good government for the Colonies would be better served by maintaining the royal authority and by improving the royal methods than by breaking away into the all dubious possibilities of independence.

I had occasion some months back when in Halifax (as a guest of the Governor of Nova Scotia) to apologize, before the great Canadian Club, to the descendants of some of the men who had in 1776 been forced out of Boston through the illiberal policy of my great grandfather and his associates.

These Loyalists took to Canada some of the best material of New England. They and their children have done much to create the Dominion of Canada, but they were men who were needed by our own new Republic and, with fair tolerance and wise consideration, they could have been held on to. My friends in Halifax (and the group included some of my own cousins) said that the apology had come a little late, but that they were prepared to accept it. They were more than ready to meet half

way the Yankee suggestion. They rejoiced with me that the great grandchildren of the ancestors who had quarreled in 1775 were to-day fighting in a common cause.

There will be need also, as said, for a correction in the accounts of the war of 1812-1815. I had myself always taken the ground that during that period when Europe was fighting, as Europe is fighting to-day, to preserve itself against the domination of imperial militarism, America's part ought to have been taken not with Napoleon but with Great Britain.

It was, as we know, a close call with Madison's cabinet which way the decision should be made. The obnoxious Orders in Council which had constituted one of the most important grounds for going to war, had been repealed two days before the date of the American Declaration, but in those days of sailing-vessels, it was, of course, months before the news of the repeal could reach Washington.

If the authorities in Downing Street had been a little more tactful with their American cousins and if the government of President Madison had been a little better informed as to the real issues that were being fought out in the great European struggle and as to the actual purposes of the English people, America's fleet would have been placed at the disposal of Great Britain and American sharpshooters would have been present at the Battle of Waterloo.

During the years 1861-'65, when the Republic was fighting for its life, there was again a full measure of stupidity in Downing Street and an overheated (although, under the circumstances, not unnatural) indignation in Washington and throughout the country. Statesmen and leaders of public opinion, such as Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Mr. Roebuck, John Delane (controlling the enormous influence of *The Times*), and even so wide-minded a man as Mr. Gladstone, with a large group of other of the so-called great citizens of the time, had committed themselves to the conclusion that the Republic was broken up, and they had also succeeded in convincing themselves that the interests of Great Britain were likely to be furthered through the disappearance of the United States as a nation. Queen Victoria's Ministers and the London *Times* (the editor of which was largely interested with his friends in the Confederate cotton loan) were working in co-operation with Louis Napoleon to bring about this result, and the intervention of Great Britain, in company with France—an intervention which the Navy and the Army of the Northern States were in no way strong enough to withstand—would have brought the struggle to a speedy close, with the result that we should have had on the American Continent not two

Republics, but at least four. The Pacific States would have gone off by themselves; the States of the Northwest, with their special interests in the Mississippi River, would have secured a separate organization, and New England and the Middle States would have been left to confront the slave Republic in the South. The slaves would have escaped more steadily than ever, and this grievance, together with the complications resulting from four systems of tariff barriers, would have given frequent cause for inter-state trouble and would undoubtedly have produced further wars.

From these misfortunes for America, and from the further misfortune of making England responsible for the breaking up of a Republic that stood for representative government, and from the founding in the nineteenth century of a nation based on human slavery, Great Britain was saved (against the counsel of its leading statesmen) through the wisdom of Prince Albert, the firmness of Queen Victoria, the righteous purpose of the Duke of Argyle, the sturdy statesmanship of John Bright, and the common sense of its own people. The people of Scotland were, from the outset, consistent in their support of the cause of the North, and from the masses of the population, including even the operatives in Lancashire, who for want of cotton were brought close to starvation, followed the lead not of Palmerston, Russell, and the *London Times*, but of Queen Victoria, John Bright, Richard Cobden, the Duke of Argyle, and clear-headed scholars like Leslie Stephen.

During my present sojourn in England, I met in one of the Conservative Clubs an old Tory acquaintance who, with characteristic British frankness, said, "Major, I am inclined to think it was a good thing that we did not break up your Republic in 1861. We have need of you to-day in our present undertakings." "Well," I said, "I am glad that you have at last come to that conclusion." We all now understand that the two countries have need of each other. We may say with certainty that the Englishmen of to-day have reason to be well-pleased that the Republic was not broken up. We Americans have work to do in this world, and work that can be effectively done only in full cooperation with the men of Great Britain. In any case, the events and grievances above referred to are matters of the past, and for the most part of a very distant past. Each generation of citizens must work out its own problems with its own standards, and should be called upon to accept responsibility only for its own actions.

We have in force to-day an association with Great Britain for the purpose of war. We are fighting together in a war against war, and to remove the causes which make for war. We hope to secure a victory so complete that we shall be able to make future wars impossible. It is my own conviction that this association

for purposes of war work in the time of the world's great peril ought to be followed by an alliance for purposes of peace between the English-speaking peoples of the world. Some time back, Bonar Law, speaking in the House, said that the Kaiser had been referred to as an empire-builder, but, continued the English statesman, it will not be the development of the German Empire that will stand to his credit. Law did not need to amplify his statement. His hearers understood at once that he was referring to the great service that had been brought about through William's unwarrantable aggression, in building up the British Empire, or, to speak more correctly, the British Commonwealth. I hold that we may properly extend the application of the English statesman's conclusion. The Kaiser has through his assaults on representative government, on the rights of men, and on civilization itself, done much to build up the commonwealth of the English-speaking peoples of the world.

To-day we are witnessing what may be called the return of the "Mayflower." The vessel that in 1620 carried the group of pilgrims from Plymouth, England, to Plymouth, Massachusetts, comes to us to-day in the form of the "Leviathan" and the "Olympic," those mighty steamers which from week to week are bringing thousands across the Atlantic, the descendants of the Puritans, together with great companies of youngsters of ancestries other than Puritan.

These sturdy American boys have come, irrespective of their ancestries, to fight for the traditions, the policies, the ideals of England. They recognize that these are also the traditions, the policies, and the ideals of America. These youngsters are ready to do their part in fighting for the defense of Britain and France, because they realize that the brave armies of the Allies have, for three years, been fighting for the ideals, the policies, and the liberties of America.

We Americans are looking forward to the establishment, after this fight is over, and after victory has come to the Allies in the great fight to maintain civilization against barbarism, and in advance of the more difficult achievement of the organization of a League of Nations, to the establishment of a League of English-speaking peoples. Such a League will carry out the principles of our Declaration of Interdependence, and will itself be strong enough to assure the peace of the world, a peace founded on justice and on the recognition of the rights of the peoples.

THE CHAIRMAN: Professor H. S. Canby, of Yale University, one of the oldest and most respected of the American Universities, will second the resolution.

PROFESSOR CANBY: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish to second this resolution with all my heart, and in seconding it I would be unfaithful to the thoughts of the many Americans assembled here if I did not endeavour to express its meaning with more profound satisfaction than the words themselves express. We Americans are in the war to fight beside the British, and we propose to stay with the British when the war is won. We are done with national isolation from this time on. California and Connecticut and Carolina—inexperienced, I know, but full of tremendous vigour and powerful hope—will take their share of the world's responsibilities, which, among all nations, Great Britain has most nobly borne. We are no longer all British in blood; we are no longer all British in feature; we are no longer, so I am told here, all British in speech; but when it comes to ideals of government, and ideals for the future, we are bone of your bone and flesh of your flesh. As Harry Hotspur said to Douglas in a day when Scotland and England were further apart than Britain and the United States, "By Heaven, I cannot flatter . . . but a braver place in my heart's love hath no man than yourself."

It is not alliances that we want—it is something better and more durable than alliances. Alliances in the bad old sense of that term served their turn and died, or changed partners, which is worse. What we seek is a nation likeminded with ourselves, which will work beside us and fight beside us, because our objectives are the same. What we seek is a dogged, persistent nation, aware as we are aware that liberties must be earned, not borrowed or bought, a nation which will enlist its energies not only for the war, but until the job is done. Great Britain is that nation; it is an impertinence to speak of an alliance between the British Empire and the United States. What we need is some new form of federation; what we need is a federation which will leave us both free to develop those purely national qualities which are peculiar to us. What we need is a federation which will make us one force in the great aims of civilisation, which, like Christianity, are, or should be, international. What we need is a federation which, if we Americans and you British are worthy of your traditions and of ours, some day all nations will wish to join. You were the Mother of Parliaments, and we were the first great experimenters in national democracy. If the urgency of the future should require in the world's government some new and further experiment, it is the British Empire and the United States of America that should take the first step forward, not in the Kaiser's fashion, by proclamation, not in theory merely, but by pledging ourselves and our fortunes to the long, hard fight. Our men are fighting together, our men are dying together, and if President Lincoln

were here to see us this day, he would repeat: "Let not their unison of sacrifice be in vain."

THE CHAIRMAN: We are honoured and privileged to have the presence here of the Commander-in-Chief of the American invading army in this country, and also of the Admiral who is commanding the American forces that are securing with us the freedom of the seas. I have pleasure in calling upon General Biddle.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN BIDDLE: I rise, my Lord and Ladies and Gentlemen, after hearing the eloquent words of the former speakers on the resolution, and it remains only for me as the representative of the American army of invasion—Lord Bryce gave me a much higher title—to express our most heartfelt thanks and appreciation of all that has been done for us while we have been passing through your country. We are but passing through, and we are all keen to get to the battle front. You have not only cared for us while we are here, but have given us Godspeed on the passage across. I am privileged to give a message from General Pershing; he has authorised me to express his thanks for the reception of the American troops in Great Britain, his appreciation of the celebration being held in Great Britain, and his sympathy with this great movement which is to unite our nations together. There are to-day many Americans in Great Britain, in almost every city of England and Scotland; our soldiers stay, some for a few days, some for a few months, but everywhere you will find the same generosity, the same sentiments. The Government, the City Associations, and individuals all vie with each other to see what they can do for the Americans. Hospitals are given for our sick and wounded, homes for our convalescents, and amusements for our men. The finest homes in Great Britain and Ireland are open to us everywhere. To-day you are celebrating all over this country, with enthusiasm, the Independence Day of America. You have made of it an Anglo-Saxon instead of merely an American celebration. In Liverpool, in Bristol, and in a number of other cities our troops are marching with yours, and everywhere they meet with the same enthusiasm. In London you know what is being done, and I assure you that we appreciate this very much, and the result will be respect and understanding and liking between Great Britain and America which will last as long as these peoples last, and that is to say for ever.

What we are rejoicing at, together, is the entry of our country into the actual fighting over here, and if the British, French,

and Italians have been holding the enemy back while we have been raising our army and equipping and training them, to-day, as has been said, we have a million men over there, and the significance of the soldiers you see in London to-day and in your streets is that they represent part of that million, and there are ten millions more just like them ready to come over. I think that it is a source of pride to you as well as to ourselves—the unselfish and lavish praise which the British and French commanders have given to our troops who are fighting with them. We know that they are doing well, and we feel that with our numbers, our enthusiasm, and the quality of our young men, guided by the brilliant example and the experience and training which the British and French have so tirelessly given them, we shall have an army which, fighting with the great armies in France, will bring this war to a successful issue.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will now call on Admiral Sims.

VICE-ADMIRAL W. S. SIMS: All the practised speakers who have addressed you to-day have expressed their admiration and sympathy with the soldiers in the trenches and the seamen on the sea and everybody else concerned, but they have entirely neglected to mention the military man who is called upon to make a speech! They do not know what they are doing when they put me and my friend, the General, in this position. I am glad, however, of the privilege of giving expression to a seaman's appreciation of this British observance of America's Independence Day. The fact that we are sharing each other's dangers and hardships will cement us with a bond of eternal friendship. Men who have thus fought in a common cause can never forget it. For twenty years, we have been especially close together in our diplomatic relations; for twenty years we have looked back upon the assistance given by the British Navy to Admiral Dewey at Manila, with a better understanding of the familiar phrase, "blood is thicker than water"; until to-day, actuated by the same ideals, the same aspirations, the same just cause, we are fighting and will continue to fight side by side until the great aims are realised. We, the great English-speaking countries, are now bound together, not only by ties of blood, but by the stronger ties of the common ideals and principles which owe their inception and steady growth to the elements of the wonderful British character.

We acknowledge that our heritage of justice and liberty came from you originally. It is these forces of justice and liberty that now unite us. It is these forces that have eventually brought about one of the most encouraging features of the war at the pres-

ent time, and that is a firm welding of the Allied forces into a united and harmonious whole. The Press has recently emphasised the fact that American troops have been brigaded with the British and the French. Surely this is concrete evidence of the cordiality and completeness of the co-operation which exist between us.

My own experience has necessarily been confined to the co-operation of the United States Navy with the other Allied navies, especially the British; and as a seaman I should like to invite your attention to the fact that for more than a year all the American naval forces in European waters have been actually brigaded with the British Fleet and with the other naval forces of the Allies. The majority of our destroyers have been serving under the military direction of the British Vice-Admiral since May, 1917. Others are serving under the British in the Mediterranean, and many destroyers and other vessels under French command in French quarters, not to mention submarine chasers in the Adriatic. Our Dreadnoughts have similarly been serving under the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet, Sir David Beatty. These Dreadnoughts have adopted all British signals and British methods of tactics, and have made themselves as nearly as possible British vessels in so far as their military function is concerned.

In other areas our forces have been serving in all cases under the senior Allied commanders. Their distribution has been made as the result of conferences between the Chiefs of the various navies involved. I believe it is quite unnecessary for me to state that the reason for this has no connection with the incompetence of American Admirals to direct their own forces; but from the very beginning of our naval operations in these waters it was recognised and established as an inflexible policy that unity of command and direction was the prime requisite of success. This was because we believed that to do otherwise would be voluntarily to confer an immense advantage upon the enemy. I can say with the greatest possible emphasis that the feelings of friendship and cordiality between the two navies could not be greater. One of your Admirals of the Grand Fleet, when referring to our ships serving there, said: "We are all one big fraternity here." In this connection I should like to quote to you a message received by me from Vice-Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly upon the anniversary of the arrival of our destroyers in your waters: "On the anniversary of the arrival of the first United States men-of-war at Queenstown. I wish to express my deep gratitude to the United States officers and ratings for the skill, energy, and unfailing good nature which they have all constantly shown, and which qualities have so materially assisted the war by enabling the ships of the Allied Powers to cross the ocean in comparative freedom. To command you

is an honour; to work with you is a pleasure, and to know you is to know the best traits of the Anglo-Saxon race."

In so far as concerns the British Navy and the American Navy on this side of the ocean, it may truly be said that they are more than co-ordinated; they are really consolidated—in fact, amalgamated; they are fighting together as a trained team under one captain. If you can imagine a great war going on in America, I am sure that a relatively small British force sent to our assistance would be similarly amalgamated and would fight as cheerfully under the American Commander-in-Chief as we do under the British. It may be of interest to know that this same feeling of co-ordination is shared by all of our army colleagues on this side. In a letter which I have recently received from General Pershing, he expresses this feeling as follows: "Permit me to take advantage of Bishop Brent's visit to our Fleet to send the Commander-in-Chief and officers and men of the American Navy in European waters the most cordial greetings of the American Expeditionary Forces. Bonds which join together all men of American blood have been mutually strengthened and deepened by the rough hand of war. Those of us who are privileged to serve in the army and navy are to one another as brothers. Spaces of land and sea are nothing where a common purpose binds. We are so dependent on one another that the honour, the fame, the exploits of the one are the honour, the fame, the exploits of the other. If the enemy should dare to leave his safe harbours and set his ships in battle array, no cheers would be more ringing, as you and your Allied Fleet moved to his defeat, than those of the American Expeditionary Forces in France."

We realise, of course, that the American naval forces in Europe are small as compared with the united naval forces of the Allies, but we have been assured that ship for ship our vessels have performed their duty in all cases to the satisfaction of their supreme commanders. America's naval effort is, as you know, by no means at an end. We have at present in European waters about 250 vessels, 3,000 officers, and 40,000 men. They are serving in all European waters, from the White Sea to the Adriatic. During the coming year, more than three times the number of our present destroyers will be fighting with the Allies. Over 150 submarine chasers will soon be on duty in the war zone: more than half of them are here now. The submarine campaign has been met. At the present time the Allies are sinking submarines faster than they are being built, and they are building ships faster than they are being sunk. The available merchant tonnage will be increased rapidly as the building programme in the United States reaches its full development in the immediate future. The submarine

warfare will doubtless continue to the end, but it cannot win the war for the enemy. It is idle to prophesy how long the war will last. The only definite statement that can be made is that it will last until Germany is thoroughly beaten.

We may be sure that the significance of this occasion, this celebration of our Independence Day by our British brothers in arms, will touch all hearts in America to-day. I believe that the 4th of July, 1918, will ever be regarded by Americans as a date to be doubly revered. Henceforth its observance will commemorate not only our independence as a State, but the emancipation of the great English-speaking peoples from all that tends to keep them from a real knowledge and understanding of each other. The cause for which we are fighting to-day is so lofty, and its ideals are so far-reaching in their effect upon the character of our people, that we will ever be bound together by the common ties of understanding, right thinking, justice, and liberty.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—You have heard the resolution read. Those who are in favour of it, please hold up their hands. To the contrary? The resolution is carried unanimously.

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